461 There is a clear hierarchy of priorities among the various activities with which the Inonda people can occupy their time. Serious illness, of course, precludes any other activity. Unless suffering from illness the men give priority to wage labour (in most instances this was heavy manual work). In the absence of paid work, social obligations connected with life crises take precedence over all other activities (except the harvesting of food). During our survey, men spent an average of 15.3 hours weekly on social obligations associated with life crises, and on travel (which is generally related to social obligations) and women 23.0 hours. During events associated with life crises people do undertake subsistence activities, but almost exclusively harvesting and hunting to provide food for the festivities.(1) If there are no life crises in the offing then priority is given to clearing, planting and weeding the gardens in order to ensure the food supply. Thereafter, free time may be used for cash cropping, the making of artifacts, or leisure.

The effect of life crises on cash cropping was markedly different from that on paid labour. During the survey, villagers who were not engaged in paid labour spent a considerable amount of time preparing for a puberty ceremony and a birthday feast and did not work on their cash crops during the periods of preparation. When a villager died, for the three weeks of mourning following his death, nobody worked on cash crops as this would have been contrary to accepted codes of respect for the dead. Those who were engaged in wage labour, on the other hand, did not take any time off to prepare for either the birthday feast or the puberty ceremony, though they did assist in their off hours. When the death occurred, the employees, including a son of the deceased, took only two days off before resuming their jobs. The cultural restrictions on productive activity during a period of mourning, and the obligation to give priority to feast preparations over economic pursuits,

[765]

[589] (1) An interesting instance of the adaptation of traditional obligations to serve modern economic ends was noticed during our stay. It is common for a prospective groom to assist his prospective father-in-law with housebuilding or bush-clearing. One ex-Inonda man who had taken a block in the government resettlement scheme got his prospective son-in-law (who lived in Inonda) to work in his (the father-in-law's) coffee garden. As the son-in-law was socially of lower standing than the bride and as he was more anxious about the match than she, the father-in-law was able to derive several weeks free labour from both the groom and his sister, with occasional help from their mother and other relatives.

711
431

> Between friends who visit one another or who meet on a path, this may amount to little more than proferring an areca nut or piece of tobacco, much as we might offer a cigarette, but with a more definite expectation that it will be done. If the purpose of the visit is a little more serious, or if it is to be extended, the gift may be of food, and certainly a host will offer meals....

He further stresses that such small transactions may be as central to the economy as the more complex ceremonialised institutions involving reciprocal exchange. Simply because such transactions and associated activities are of a moral rather than a mechanical nature and incorporate notions of social status, they cannot properly be distinguished from strictly 'productive' enterprise.

574
512

In Sivepe time devoted to fulfilling social obligations is divided almost equally between the three categories of death (mourning), 1.1 hours, other ceremonial (feasting, farewell parties, etc.), 1.0 hours, and informal visiting, 1.2 hours per man-week.

While the pattern of visiting varies little from week to week, the more formal activities only occur irregularly. Only one death, that of a child, was recorded within the sample during the survey, but various people were involved in the deaths of four kinsmen resident elsewhere.

765

The duration of mourning seems to vary in relation to the physical and social distances separating the mourned from the mourners as well as according to the status of the deceased. In the case of the child's death, 90 per cent (all but four members) of the sample participated together with a large number of clansmen from other villages and most of the third clan represented in Sivepe. The sample members mourned continuously for an average of 11 hours each, this being terminated by a church service on the mission station. Infact, all the mourning during period I fell in four weeks, an average of 5.5 hours per man-week being recorded for these weeks.

574
[527]
[535]
[273]
000

The time devoted to other ceremonial activities can be subdivided into four categories, the relative importance of which reflects the nature of social change among the inland Orokaiva. 'Parties' account for 38 per cent of the time so spent. These are normally held at the departure or return of kinsmen in paid employment or to mark 'birthdays' and are invariably characterised by the sale of plates of food and liquor and by western-style dancing to guitar groups.[1] Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional

[1] The term 'party' is in current usage in Orokaiva and other New Guinea languages. For a detailed description of one such event, see Crocombe 1966.

437

Palminus was able, like Linton, to establish an exchange relationship with a man employed in Popondetta, in this case a distant relative of his wife, working as a carpenter. On his occasional visits he took him food, receiving in return cash and store-bought goods. Apart from this case, however, Palminus' transactions are almost entirely restricted to [431] subsistence goods and services - food and labour in harvesting yams. Acquisitions amount to 62 per cent of all his subsistence produce transactions (compared with 84 per cent in [765] Linton's case), the greater proportion reflecting events following the death of one of Palminus' sons early in the survey when gifts of food were received from a wide range of kin during the week that he and his wife remained in their house.

[562] Gorukari. Like most women Gorukari transacts little apart from subsistence produce and, in this, the substantial excess of disposals over acquisitions reflects her responsibility for distributing plates of cooked food. Outside her own family her immediate responsibilities are to her husband's ageing parents and their remaining dependent children who live next door. While the two families frequently prepare their meals at the same hearth the periodic sickness of the parents also involves Gorukari in providing food for them. In addition she temporarily accommodated her husband's father's sister, a widow, and her [431] children. This family appears to have had some difficulty in achieving subsistence[1] and Gorukari frequently provided them with food. These gifts were acknowledged following the widow's remarriage and departure from Sivepe.

Elsewhere within the village Gorukari exchanges produce primarily with women from her own age group, where the bond is one of common interest rather than of kinship. Outside the village she maintains contact with two of her natal kin - her mother, who lives about one hour's walk away, and her sister, married to a medical orderly at Saiko hospital. These periodic visits also enable Gorukari to take food to her husband's father's sister who is married into her mother's village.

Olga. Olga's exchanges follow a similar pattern to those of Gorukari. They involve, almost exclusively, subsistence produce, disposals of which account for 71 per cent of all transactions. Within the spouse's lineage frequent exchanges are effected with her son and his wife whose house is adjacent. Elsewhere major exchange relationships are maintained

---

1 See p.94.

Work patterns

Records of time spent in various tasks was kept by A for ten weeks, and by B and C for twenty weeks.[1] The results are summarised in Table 6. Records were also maintained for their families and these plus those for the entrepreneurs themselves are summarised in Table 7.

These tables show some marked differences between the work patterns of the entrepreneurs and those of villagers. The entrepreneurs spend less time on subsistence gardening than the villagers spend (5.7 as against 11.5 hours respectively), much less time in wage employment than villagers (nil as against 6.9), more than twenty times more in cash-cropping and trading (19.5 compared with 0.7), only a fraction of the time acquitting traditional social obligations (1.0 as against 8.7) but considerably more in community activities as officers of co-operatives, local government, church bodies and other public agencies (7.6 as against 0.5). The same trends are apparent, though not so marked in degree, where the entrepreneurs' families are included (Table 7).

Time spent on social obligations is kept to a bare minimum. This is facilitated to some extent by the fact that all the entrepreneurs live out of sight of the village houses. Non-conformity would be more difficult if they were living right in the village. During the twenty weeks' survey of B's family, for example, they took only one day off for each of two deaths in the village. Had they lived in the village they would have been involved for many days. In another instance which occurred before this study began, a classificatory brother of B's wife died in Inonda, just over the river from where he was living on his coffee block. After two days' brief formal participation in the mourning he removed to his Hohota house and worked on his cocoa there. Two days after the three weeks' mourning period at Inonda finished he returned to live at the coffee block. Had he remained at the coffee block during the mourning he could hardly have continued to work full-time on his cash crops. The Inonda villagers, by contrast, left cash-cropping entirely during this period.

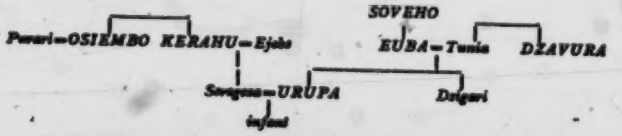
---

[1] The periods recorded were: A and his family ten weeks from 14 June to 23 August 1963; for B, twenty weeks from 1 September 1962 to 18 January 1963 and for C, five and a half weeks from 22 December 1965 to 29 January 1966. No records were made of D's work patterns. Watches and forms for recording work patterns were issued to A's eldest son, B's son and to C. For the first week either the writer, Mr Hogbin or Mr Burau lived with the people maintaining the records, but the period of our residence is not included above. One of us or Mr Eupu made visits to collect the records and discuss problems every few days.

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed.

Another factor which must inevitably delay re-building is the activity needed to re-establish social connections. When I was at Popota village one week-end I checked on food that was being eaten, and found that although the children were carefully fed with nuts, pumpkin tops and other valuable foods, the adults were either going without food altogether or eating the despised wild yam; their taro gardens were rotten or choked with weeds. I noticed with surprise a group of people, heavily laden with bags of taro, hurrying along the road. They walked straight into the village and up to a house, and a few minutes later I heard the noise of crying and wailing. A group of nine people were sitting in two rows facing each other under the shadow of a humpy. The relationship of the whole group, with the exception of two unrelated village women, is expressed in the following diagram (capitals signifies men, lower case women).



Kerahu and Ejobe lived in Popota, and their daughter Seregesa married a Sasembata man. When the volcano erupted parents and daughter were evacuated in different directions, and although from time to time they heard news of each other they were unable to see each other. When they returned to their villages the daughter's first thought was to visit her parents, but this could not be done until a humpy had been built and a present of food collected. On this day that they met the procedure was almost automatic: it was like a well-rehearsed play in which every actor knew his part. Seregesa sat down with her baby, and her father gently cried by her side. Her mother sat in front of her, embracing her and crying in a wail:

Nau hakoro tato tungenu

Ijoto fouta tato tungenu.

This was translated for me as "I am the girl who was chased away, to other countries, other places chased away." Meanwhile Urupa and his family squatted on mats facing the crying group and chewing areca nut, and Pusari with a village woman relieved Seregesa of her bag of taro and began peeling it. The wailing continued for about an hour, other friends and relatives joining the group, and then conversation became general and food was eaten.

In such ways are the social connections remade. And some thought and activity is being devoted to other ends as well—the dance, for instance. Although there was no desire evident to conduct large mortuary feasts for those who had been killed, it may be expected that, as gardens come back into bearing, individuals will

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

remember the dead in such ways. In the meantime one may hear the drums beating in some villages as the men spontaneously come together for recreation and practice.

The programme of reconstruction, then, is very much a matter of the allocation of time between such ends. To regard it simply as a matter of building houses and making gardens would be a mistake. But even within that simple framework the rate of reconstruction is dependant upon the availability of resources and the organization of work. It was estimated that the re-established population would have about five acres of land per head outside the danger perimeter—over 100 to the square mile. This is small compared with other areas of Papua, but it is held to be sufficient to maintain present standards of shifting cultivation. The forest building resources, with the possible exception of grass and sago thatch, appear to be adequate for immediate purposes, and it is hoped that thatch can be imported from near by areas. But there are indications, as we shall see, that agricultural requirements may alter; and it is not certain what effect this dense population will have on permanent timber resources. As against this, the people are permitted to extend gardens into the danger perimeter provided they do not stay there overnight. Unfortunately the immediate benefits of this are reduced by the fact that taro and other gardens are choked by weeds and the roots have in many cases rotted. It will take time to build up a stock of reliable seed and to turn this into good crops.

Papuans, and particularly the Orokaiva, work with great vim and energy when they can work as a team, within sight and sound of each other. The melodious song that rose as village groups combined to fell the forest on their new sites was exciting, and as the song died away the rhythm of the work continued, this time accompanied by back-chat and joking. All reconstruction work cannot take place with such groups—timber and cane materials, for instance, are gathered by people working apart from each other. But attempts were made to increase the frequency of directly co-operative work by a typical modern Papuan device, the allocation of work days by village constables and councillors, acting after a village meeting. The custom of Government Day, the day a week which is set aside for village hygiene and improvement, is universal in Papua. To this has been added, in some cases, a Mission Day, set aside for work in support of Missions. From this it is an easy step to allocate work for the week in such a way that most villagers will be doing the same type of job on the same day, and hence the possibilities of co-operation are increased. In most of the reconstruction villages Monday and Wednesday were set aside for house building, Tuesday and Thursday for garden work, Friday for hygiene and road construction (the latter a most important activity in the area at the present time), and Saturday free or for Mission work. This calendar was somewhat complicated by the rather inopportune demand of the Mission for a tithe of labour to expand Mission stations in the area, a task that could well wait until the people are more settled.

So far I have been writing mainly of the immediate problems of re-settlement. The Administration is however taking a much wider view and there is a great deal of